The Politics of Paul and Peter: Roman Appropriation of the Victory at Lepanto in the Art of the Tomb of Pius V

Honors Research Thesis

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On December 4th, 1571, Rome was in uproar. The Via Appia was lined with thousands of cheering citizens, the proud banners of the 13 Rioni bedecked the streets, and cannon crews readied their instruments for a celebratory volley[1]. All were awaiting the arrival of Marcantonio Colonna, the hero of the battle of Lepanto, who had earned glory and renown both for himself and for Rome, the eternal city. Colonna entered the city on a white courser given to him by the pope, and was clad in cloth of gold, black silk, and velvet[2]. A long line of Turkish captives stretched before him, bound in chains, with the standards of their Sultan sweeping the dusty streets of Rome. Like the Caesars of old, Marcantonio Colonna was about to be given a Roman triumph. But this was to be no pagan procession. After parading past ancient sites such as the Baths of Caracalla, the Capitoline Hill, and the triumphal arches of Constantine and Titus, Colonna made his way to the Vatican[3]. There, he was greeted by his benefactor and fellow architect of the victory, Pope Pius V[4]. Kneeling, the heroic commander, the lionhearted slayer of Turks, the first son of the city, kissed the papal foot[5].

But less than five months later, on May 2nd, 1572, Rome lay under a pall of sorrow[6]. Pope Pius V had been fighting against death for several weeks, but unlike Lepanto, this battle could not be won. Great crowds swarmed to pay their respects as he laid in state in St. Peter's Basilica, the greatest church in Christendom[7]. But Pius V did not wish St. Peter's to be his final resting place[8]. Instead, he desired to be buried in the rural town of Bosco in the Milanese countryside, the land of his birth[9]. In 1588, however, Pope Sixtus V reinterred Pius V in an extravagant shrine facing his own eventual tomb, in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore [10]. Sixtus V lavished

no less than 25,000 scudi on the Santa Maria Maggiore enterprise, a vast expenditure given the papacy's limited funds[11]. The investment in the tomb was not only monetary: Sixtus V also personally presided over the Mass of Requiem that accompanied the transferal of Pius V's body to Santa Maria Maggiore, accompanied by no less than forty-four cardinals[12]. Why would Sixtus V pay such a price of gold and time to build not only his own tomb, but also a new burial place for a pope who had died 14 years earlier? In order to understand the motivations for this project, we must examine the two popes who were instrumental in its genesis, and the battle that became a rallying cry for all of Catholic Europe.

When Antonio Ghislieri took the habit of the Dominicans, he could not have known that he would rise to the highest office of his religion. Born in 1504, the former shepherd earned renown for his inquisitorial zeal, eventually serving as high inquisitor to Paul IV and Pius IV. In 1566, Ghislieri succeeded the latter to the papacy, taking the name Pius V. The newly christened leader of the Catholic faith ascended to the pontificate in one of its most challenging eras. 30 years earlier, the Sack of Rome had shown Europe that the temporal power of the papacy could be overcome with ease, and although relations with the Holy Roman Empire were not so dire in Pius V's time, the growing Ottoman behemoth in the east was arguably an even more formidable threat[13].

On the spiritual front, Protestantism had spread like wildfire across Europe, and had yet to be checked by the incomplete Counter-Reformation. Like Gregory VII and Boniface VIII, though, Pius V believed in the total authority of the papacy over secular rulers[14]. Thus, he made reclaiming papal sovereignty a major priority

during his reign, and pursued a highly aggressive foreign policy[15]. Pius V quarreled incessantly with the crowns of Spain, France, and the Holy Roman Empire, censuring them for everything from moderation towards Protestantism to failing to enforce the edicts of the Council of Trent[16]. Predictably, these rulers were unimpressed by the papal blustering, and largely ignored Pius V's demands[17]. In 1568, for example, Pius V issued a decree denouncing all bull fights as sinful and barring all those who had died in the activity from receiving a Catholic burial[18]. The king of Spain, Phillip II, did not allow this papal edict to be distributed in his lands, and even hired theologians to actively dispute the Pope's stance[19]. The zenith of Pius' international aggression was arguably his bull of February 1570, *Regnans in excelsis,* in which he excommunicated Elizabeth I and labeled her a usurper to the throne of England[20]. The hubris of this attempt at reasserting papal dominance was revealed by the pronounced lack of tangible impact on Elizabeth's power; in fact, it only provided her with support to introduce new anti-Catholic legislation in England[21]. Needless to say, this was the last such excommunication of a reigning monarch in papal history[22].

Perhaps chastened after this failure, but not discouraged, Pius was to be given a great opportunity to impose his pontifical will on Europe, albeit through more subtle methods. In June 1570, an Ottoman fleet sailed to invade the Venetian colony of Cyprus, in a surprise dissolution of their peace treaty with the city of St. Mark[23]. Their forces captured Nicosia just months later, and laid siege to the trapped Venetian governor Bragadino at Famagusta[24]. The Venetians called for aid, and through torturous negotiations Pius V was instrumental in the formation of the

Holy League, a tripartite alliance of Spain, Venice, and Rome[25]. The League assembled a fleet commanded by the young Spanish general Don Juan of Austria, with Rome's Marcantonio Colonna and the experienced Sebastiano Venier of Venice as his subordinates[26]. The Christian flotilla arrived at Corfu in September, and heard of the fall of Famagusta and the grisly execution of Bragadino shortly thereafter, news that imbued the usually fractious League command with a new unity of purpose[27]. On the morning of Sunday, October 7th, the Holy League fleet encountered the numerically superior Ottoman navy in the Gulf of Lepanto[28]. But thanks to a favorable shift in wind and the firepower of the Venetian galleasses, the League armada was able to outmaneuver and destroy the Ottoman invaders in a spectacularly decisive victory[29]. When news of the success reached Pius V on a late October night, he "broke out into tears of joy, saying the words of the aged Simeon: *Nunc dimittis servum tuum in pace*[30]." Prophetic words indeed, as his death followed in less than a year; the victory at Lepanto was his crowning legacy. This historic event is celebrated extensively on the very tomb in which Pius V now lies.

The tomb of Pius V is an ostentatious monument, which the noted 19th century historian Gregorovius rather humorously suggests might not have found favor with its austere inhabitant[31]. Its commissioner Sixtus V, however, was a pope much more interested in the potential of artistic and urban patronage[32]. Just one year after his ascension to the papacy, he ordered the destruction of the venerable Patriarchium Lateranense, and commissioned the talented architect Domenico Fontana to construct a new Lateran Palace[33]. Fontana had become Sixtus V's preferred architect after successfully completing the Pope's earlier challenge to

move the Vatican Obelisk, a formidable test of engineering prowess that even Michelangelo apparently balked at[34]. Although the pontiff was an inveterate destroyer of pagan antiquities, he famously commissioned Fontana to restore Trajan's Column and the Column of Marcus Aurelius, and cap them with statues of St. Peter and St. Paul respectively[35]. This project in particular has been viewed as a papal appropriation of the glory of imperial Rome, especially since the capping in effect reproduced the pagan Roman trope of the triumphal "figure-on-column" monument[36]. Sixtus V's prolific building projects reflected his overall expansionist and authoritarian papal agenda, which closely mirrored that of his more frugal Dominican predecessor[37].

Pastor informs us that Sixtus V considered Pius to be a "friend and deeply venerated benefactor[38]", and Duffy cogently suggests that Sixtus V actually modeled many aspects of his papacy after that of Pius V, especially in his zealous pursuit to regain papal power and influence[39]. Like Pius V, Sixtus V was a pugnacious meddler in European politics, exhorting France, Poland, and the Savoy to actively stamp out the Reformation in their lands[40]. He even offered to contribute funds to the Spanish Armada against England, as a means to depose the hated Elizabeth I[41]. On the domestic front, Sixtus V consolidated his clerical sovereignty by reducing the power of cardinals, and quashing the bishopric's pretensions to divine appointment, a trend that had arisen during the Council of Trent[42]. Even Sixtus' additions to the Roman transportation system were part of an expansive agenda intended to facilitate pilgrimage in the eternal city, and make the chapel at Santa Maria Maggiore

Fig. 1: Domenico Fontana & others, *The Tomb of Pius V,* c. 1586-1588. Santa Maria Maggiore. Photo: Author.

the center of a huge star-shaped nexus of roads[43]. It was in this great chapel that Sixtus V decided to commemorate not only himself, but also Pius V, both bastions of the quest to restore papal authority.

Sixtus V chose the illustrious Fontana to supervise the design of the tomb (Fig. 1), started in 1586, but a team of artists worked on its individual parts[44]. The tomb itself stands two stories high, and is carved out of marble, with a statue of Pius V in the act of blessing (the work of Leonardo Sarzana), contained in the central niche[45]. Two columns flank the marble pope on either side, and rise to an entablature above. The statue is seated on a gilded bronze sarcophagus also bearing the likeness of Pius V[46]. The upper section of the tomb comprises three reliefs, with an additional two reliefs adorning the lower level. It is the scene in the upper left corner, *The Battle of Lepanto* (Fig. 2), which is the focus of this study.

Fig. 2: Egidio della Riviera (or Hans Van den Vliete), *The Battle of Lepanto*, c. 1586-88. Santa Maria Maggiore. Photo: Author.

Fig. 3: Egidio della Riviera (or Hans Van den Vliete), *The Battle of Lepanto*, Detail of the Allegory of Faith, c. 1586-88. Santa Maria Maggiore. Photo: Author.

Fig. 4: Egidio della Riviera (or Hans Van den Vliete), *The Battle of Lepanto*, Detail of St. Peter and St. Paul, c. 1586-88. Santa Maria Maggiore. Photo: Author

This relief, *The Battle of Lepanto,* presents a roiling mass of seething water, splintering ships, and bedraggled humanity, and has been credited to Hans van den Vliete, also known as Egidio della Riviera[47]. The Protestant Gregorovius informs his readers that "it is only from the historical aspect that these sculptures can attract us," as he derisively asserts that the reliefs show sculpture in the late 16th century "sinking to position of slave to Painting… degenerating into a merely mechanical *relieve*-style[48]." Gregorovius' artistic discrimination notwithstanding, it is not only the historical, but also the metaphorical elements of this relief that are significant.

The driving figurative agenda of the sculpture appears in its upper reaches, where the two figures of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul swoop over the battlefield to drive away the dragon of Satan on the right (Fig. 4). Clearly, the spiritual combat taking place above is meant to parallel the physical conflict below, with the forces of Christendom victorious over the satanic Ottomans. But this inclusion of St. Peter and St. Paul seems to contradict the popular and church sanctioned description of the divine patron of this triumph[49]. Since the engagement was won on the first Sunday of October, the day in which the Rosary confraternities were most active in Rome, Pius V "saw the source of the victory in the mighty advocate, the merciful mother of Christendom[50]." Pius V further cemented this association with the Virgin by proclaiming an anniversary feast of Lepanto dedicated to Our Lady of Victory[51].

This interrelation quickly made its way into the artistic sphere across Italy[52]. Genoa, home of Giovanni Andrea Doria (another admiral who fought at Lepanto), commissioned a painting of the Madonna of the Rosary over their gates[53]. Similarly,

in the representation of Lepanto in the Doge's palace in Venice, an inscription read: "Not our power and arms, nor our leaders, but the Madonna of the Rosary helped us to victory[54]." In Rome, the Virgin was valorized as the patron saint of the battle in numerous artistic projects and processions; Colonna even dedicated a "gilt silver columnar reliquary to the 'Mother of Christ the Redeemer'" during his victory ceremony[55]. Perhaps the most notable example of this association is the grand wooden ceiling of the church of Santa Maria en Aracoeli, which was commissioned shortly after the victory[56]. This ceiling features a monumental gilt wooden statue of the Virgin (Fig. 5), juxtaposed with Pius V's coat of arms (Fig. 6) and representations of the spoils of the battle (Fig. 7). Given the strength of the Virgin's link with Lepanto, why is the mother of Christ not suspended above the battlefield in the tomb relief of Pius V, as the reigning celestial agent of this triumph? To explore this question, we must turn to an earlier work, formed out of the *invenzione* of Giorgio Vasari.

Fig. 5: Flaminio Boulangier & others, *Santa Maria en Aracoeli Ceiling,* Detail of the Virgin Mary, c. 1572-76. Basilica di Santa Maria en Aracoeli. Photo: Author.

Fig. 6: Flaminio Boulangier & others, *Santa Maria en Aracoeli Ceiling,* Detail of the Coat of Arms of Pius V, c. 1572-76. Basilica di Santa Maria en Aracoeli. Photo: Author.

Fig. 7: Flaminio Boulangier & others, *Santa Maria en Aracoeli Ceiling,* Detail of Naval Icons and Spoils of Battle, c. 1572-76. Basilica di Santa Maria en Aracoeli. Photo: Author.

In a rare act of artistic patronage shortly after the victory, Pius V commissioned Giorgio Vasari to paint a series of commemorative frescoes in the Sala Regia, the primary audience hall of the Apostolic Palace[57]. This painting cycle includes depictions of the battle of Lepanto alongside other Catholic victories of the era (such as the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre of the Huguenots) and historical assertions of papal will (such as Gregory IX's excommunication of Frederick II). In the fresco illustrating the actual naval engagement (Fig. 9), Vasari also does not include the Virgin Mary. Instead, in the golden cloud in the upper left of the painting, he paints not only St. Paul and St. Peter, but also St. Mark and St. James. These saints are no random accumulation; each member of the Holy League is represented by its divine patron (St. Mark for Venice, St. James for Spain, and St. Paul and St. Peter for Rome[58]). These associations are well established; the connection of Rome with St. Paul and St. Peter in particular has a rich history stretching back hundreds of years. The Roman leaden bull of Boniface VIII (Fig. 8), for example, proudly displays the two apostles, and is certainly not the earliest instance of this pairing[59]. So, we may assume that Vasari chose to include the saints instead of the Virgin as a poetic device, to elegantly illustrate the tripartite nature of the victory. This choice was no doubt suggested by the Sala Regia's

Fig. 8: Unknown, *Leaden Bull of Pope Boniface VIII,* c. 13th Century. (Lacroix 1964).

function as an ambassadorial venue. In a chamber whose very walls were proclamations of the force of papal influence in Europe, perhaps the envoys of Spain and Venice were expected to delight in the tribute to their role in the Holy League offered by this particular fresco. Even at the time, though, the generally imposing tone of the Sala Regia fresco cycle may have rang increasingly hollow; de Jong contends that "their message of papal and Catholic supremacy was already out of step with reality. Kings and ambassadors may have smiled at it, and critical visitors seen through it[60]."

Fig. 9: Giorgio Vasari, *The Battle of Lepanto*, c. 1572. Vatican Sala Regia. (Scorza 2012).

One other feature of the Vasari fresco demands attention. In the lower left corner, a monumental female figure reclines on a massive cross, raising a chalice

containing the consecrated host. This figure is unmistakably an allegory of Faith, distinguished by the appropriate iconography mentioned above[61]. Her metaphorical significance would be straightforward enough to Vasari's contemporary audience, as they saw Faith as instrumental in the Christian war-host's conquest of their Saracen foes[62]. Crucially though, this allegory of Faith is reproduced in almost every conceivable detail in the Battle of Lepanto tomb relief (Fig. 3). It is a wholly direct citation, corresponding not only in Faith's iconography, but also in her languid, almost *contrapposto* stance, and the diagonal formed by her arms, one reaching up to entwine the host and chalice around the cross, and one falling down to the water, holding what appears to be a brand. She is even placed in the lower left corner, just as in Vasari's work. This citation indicates that Egidio della Riviera was almost certainly familiar with Vasari's work. He also seems to have adopted Vasari's stylistic decision to portray the victory as sanctioned by saints rather than the Virgin. But significantly, he chooses to display *only* St. Paul and St. Peter, effectively appropriating the victory at Lepanto in exclusively Roman terms. In order to elucidate the possible rationales for this interesting decision, let us examine the circumstances surrounding the formation of the Holy League itself.

In the late *cinquecento*, after centuries of previous crusading efforts, a European alliance against the Ottomans was hardly a novel idea. In fact, Pius V had instructed his nuncios to solicit Phillip II's support for such an enterprise as early as 1566, the year in which he ascended to the papacy[63]. This was to be a doomed effort, however, as the increasingly fractured political and religious landscape of late 16th century Europe meant monarchs were much less willing than their medieval

ancestors to join together in a common cause[64]. The Spanish crown rebuffed Pius V's overtures in 1566, believing that a Catholic confederation would cause the revolt of German and French Protestants in the Low Countries, and endanger Spanish holdings in the area[65]. Only the threat of a massive Ottoman invasion in 1570 was sufficient impetus to bring Spain back to the bargaining table. Even under these grave conditions, the Holy League's formation was fraught with disagreement and suspicion[66]. Many of the preeminent European powers, including Spain, believed the Venetian plea for an alliance was merely a specious ploy to dissuade Ottoman invasion, and were reluctant to waste precious resources and time in such a ruse[67]. Tellingly, Spain was the only major European state to eventually join the league at all; the Holy Roman Empire and France ultimately declined[68].

On the other side of the Mediterranean, Venice and Rome had their own worries. Spain was one of the most powerful nations in Europe at the time, and actually ruled a large portion of Italy through vassal states including Naples, Sicily, and Milan[69]. It is no exaggeration to say that Venice and Rome were exceedingly nervous at the prospect of losing their own independence if they entered into the union. Pastor opines that many thought "that in Spain they looked with a jealous eye on the freedom and power of the Republic of St. Mark, as well as upon that of the Holy See[70]." It would appear then, that papal Rome might have had a very sound incentive to commandeer the battle of Lepanto as a Roman icon, as a propagandistic rebuttal of Spain's potential hegemony over the Italian peninsula. In fact, by 1585, on the eve of the commission of Pius V's tomb, Spain's power and interference in papal affairs had only grown. Pastor records that Sixtus V "frankly admitted" in

1585 that he was, "in his capacity of temporal sovereign, like a fly compared to an elephant before the king on whose dominions the sun never set[71]." The pontiff's attitude of unease towards Philip II was thoroughly vindicated after his death, as the Spanish ruler succeeded in bribing and threatening the Roman cardinals into electing a series of three elderly, easily manipulated Popes[72]. This period of Spanish control in papal affairs lasted until 1592, when the cardinals finally rebelled and appointed the more formidable Clement VIII, who pursued a vigorous policy of extricating the papacy from such overt Spanish influence[73].

Venice's lack of representation in Egidio della Riviera's *The Battle of Lepanto* may be linked to their peace treaty with the Ottomans in 1573, which effectively dissolved the Holy League and earned the opprobrium of both Spain and Rome[74]. This betrayal was all the more enraging given the papacy's optimistic plans to build on Lepanto's success; Pius V fervidly maintained that the Holy League should make recapturing Constantinople and Jerusalem its next priority[75]. During Colonna's triumph, the Arches of Titus and Constantine were even adorned with inscriptions urging Jerusalem to celebrate, as "Pius V intends to liberate you[76]." Venice's crippling departure from the League so incensed Pius V's immediate successor, Gregory XIII, that he canceled the commission of a second fresco by Vasari in the Sala Regia, which was intended to show personifications of all three Holy League members[77] (this fresco was a companion to Fig. 9; they were to be placed next to each other on the same wall). Although the pontiff later allowed the completion of this work (which Vasari unsurprisingly attributes to his prodigious effort and the painting's inherent beauty), his violent reaction emphasizes the gravity of the

event[78]. Given Venice's role in unpleasantly ending papal ambitions for a Holy League crusade, it is perhaps no surprise that St. Mark does not fly above Lepanto with his Roman brethren in Egidio della Riviera's relief. Beyond the significance of the two Roman saints' isolation, their particular form and representation reveals yet another layer of this relief's strata of propaganda.

Reexamination of the depictions of Peter and Paul in Egidio della Riviera's tomb sculpture shows them to be unequivocal citations from Raphael's famous fresco, *The Meeting of Leo the Great with Attila* (Figs. 4, 10, & 11), located in the Stanza di Eliodoro in the papal apartments. In both works, Paul occupies the right side of the duo, and brandishes a sword while demonstratively pointing forward. Similarly, both renditions of Peter reach across Paul, holding the papal keys as their robes billow out diagonally behind them. The only slight difference between the apostles in the two works is the sword in Peter's hand in Raphael's painting, and the partial envelopment of both apostles in dense cloud in Egidio della Riviera's composition.

Fig. 10: Raphael & workshop, *The Meeting of Leo the Great with Attila,* c. 1512-14. Stanza di Eliodoro. Photo: Author.

Fig. 11: Raphael & workshop, *The Meeting of Leo the Great with Attila,* Detail of St. Peter and St. Paul, c. 1512-14. Stanza di Eliodoro. Photo: Author.

All four of the works in the Stanza di Eliodoro reinforce a common theme: the divine protection and material force of the pontificate[79]. Of all the paintings in the room, however, *The Meeting of Leo the Great with Attila* is a particularly favorable choice to compare to the battle of Lepanto. The fresco depicts the marauding Hun as being discouraged from attacking Rome by the apparition of St. Paul and St. Peter behind Pope Leo I, who has courageously rode out to meet the warlord[80]. *The Meeting of Leo the Great with Attila* was actually commissioned by Leo X to evoke another, more recent, papal achievement, Julius II's repulse of the invading French forces in 1512[81]. Egidio della Riviera's citation of Raphael's masterpiece may be a similar claim of continuity with this triumphal episode, characterizing the battle of Lepanto as another instance in which the papacy played a crucial part in overcoming a massive threat to all of Europe, and also enjoyed the auspices of divine guidance. This vision of Rome's temporal primacy in securing the victory at Lepanto conflicts with their often subordinate role in the Holy League.

Investigation of Rome's material contributions and negotiating power in the triumvirate produces a much more nuanced estimation of their involvement than the self-congratulatory tomb relief suggests. In many cases, Rome appears as a frustrated and politically impotent force, rather than an indisputable sacred authority and majestic temporal strength. For instance, even though they were one third of the responsible parties (not including the minor Holy League members such as Genoa and the Knights of Malta), Rome was only able to contribute less than one seventeenth (30,000-35,000 scudi per month) of the total revenue required for the expeditionary force (600,000 scudi per month[82]). The Spanish and Venetians used

this financial frailty as leverage over the papacy. In compensation, Spain demanded a reinstitution of state taxes on clergy that Pius V had suspended earlier in his reign, and Venice insisted on similar stipulations[83]. To secure his precious alliance, Pius V acceded to many of their demands[84].

The papacy's military presence in the Holy League was perhaps even more meager than their financial contribution (Fig. 12). Out of the 212 ships of the Holy League fleet, Rome was able to contribute only 12 galleys, compared to the 115 ships provided by Venice and 55 ships under Spanish command[85]. Incredibly, even these 12 galleys were built by Venice and sent to Rome only to be outfitted[86]. The Spanish ambassador Zuñiga valued Rome's martial contribution so little that he even "told Colonna to his face that he need not suppose himself to be a generalissimo, and that there was no such thing as a league[87]." It is hard to imagine a statement more at odds with the tomb relief's triumphal presentation of Rome's indispensability to the campaign.

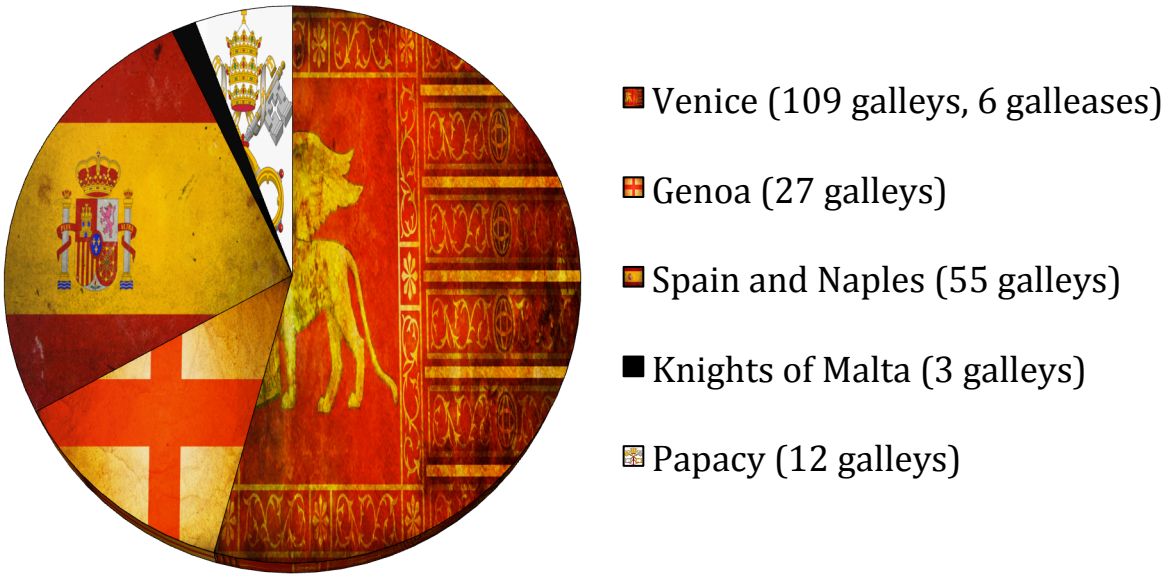

Fig. 12: Naval Contributions of Holy League Members. Graph: Author, using fleet lists from Konstam 2005.

The financial and military shortcomings of the papacy, compounded with painful diplomatic embarrassment at the hands of their ostensible allies, underline the need for a pro-Roman propaganda that Egidio della Riviera's *The Battle of Lepanto* participates in. Perhaps yet again, Sixtus V's artistic patronage may be furthering the aims of the papacy, in this case to defuse the insecurity of these glaring weaknesses. To be fair, Pastor in particular emphasizes the extraordinary willpower and disinterested stance of Pius V as crucial to the Holy League's inception[88], and many scholars have lauded this accomplishment as one of the papacy's greatest political successes[89]. Furthermore, although the pontificate was underrepresented in every tangible qualification, Pius V did secure Colonna's appointment as second in command of the force, and managed to establish his own position as the "supreme arbiter" of the league as early as July 11th, 1570[90]. As we have seen, however, the pope's actual arbitration powers were somewhat less than supreme.

In many ways, *The Battle of Lepanto* relief in Pius V's tomb may be viewed as expressing a synthesis of the austere papal authoritarianism of Pius V and the equally politically ambitious patronage policies of Sixtus V. Both pontiffs hoped to restore the Holy See to its former glory, to regain the power wielded by popes like Gregory the Great and Julius II, albeit in a manner more acceptable to the Counter-Reformation. But in the Europe of the late *cinquecento*, religiously divided and dominated by massive world powers like Spain, those days were remote indeed. The papacy's role in the formation of the Holy League, and its part in the famous victory over the Turks at Lepanto, was a pearl of hope in the mire of the Pope's

growing obsolescence in international military affairs. But papal Rome still reigned supreme in its mastery of the arts, and possessed the ability to skillfully manipulate ideas and images to advance its political and theological agendas. Egidio della Riviera's *The Battle of Lepanto* is a prime example of this Roman use of art as propaganda, arrogating the success at Lepanto to distort Rome's relatively subordinate role in the Holy League into a celebration of the unquestionable divine authority of the papacy. For this reason, perhaps it is not so bold to say that though the extravagance of his tomb in Santa Maria Maggiore would have distressed the severe Pius, the metaphorical message of Egidio della Riviera's work would have pleased him a great deal.

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Figure 9: Scorza, Rick. "Vasari's Lepanto Frescoes: "Apparati", Medals, Prints and the Celebration of Victory." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 75 (2012), 165.

Figure 12: Fleet lists from: Konstam, Angus. *Lepanto 1571: The Greatest Naval Battle of the Renaissance*. Praeger Illustrated Military History, 2005, 22-25.